

Message Text

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S/S - MR. ORTIZ

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY FLASH

S E C R E T STATE 182037 TOSEC 080259

NODIS
CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR, IS
SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH DINITZ

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

1. I PASSED ON YOUR PERSONAL MESSAGE (SECTO 8083) TO
DINITZ THIS MORNING. SORRY ABOUT THE DELAY. WE HAVE
TAKEN STEPS HERE TO CORRECT THE SLOW TRANSMISSION TIMES
BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND HELSINKI. DINITZ SAID HE WOULD PASS
THE MESSAGE ON TO JERUSALEM IMMEDIATELY.

2. I HAVE JUST SENT YOU BY FLASH TELEGRAM DINITZ' REPLY
TO THE TWO OUTSTANDING MESSAGES TO THE ISRAELIS TRANS-
MITTED THROUGH MY CHANNEL. THIS TELEGRAM IS INTENDED TO
BRING YOU UP TO DATE ON THE COMMENTS MADE TO ME BY SIMCHA
AFTER HE HAD PASSED ON THOSE MESSAGES.

3. SIMCHA'S COMMENTS GENERALLY FOLLOWED THE LINE PURSUED
BY RABIN WITH MAC TOON (TEL AVIV'S 4957) ALTHOUGH IMCHA
OCCASION HE APPEARS TO HAVE GONE A BIT FURTHER. SIMCHA
SAYS HE HAS NOW SEEN THE CIRCULAR MEMO TO ISRAELI
AMBASSADORS IN EUROPE AND IT IN NO WAY IMPLIES U.S. SUPPORT

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FOR ISRAELI POSITIONS. HE THEN WENT OFF THE RECORD AND

READ ME WHAT HE CLAIMED TO BE THE SPECIFIC SENTENCE IN THE CIRCULAR TELEGRAM ASKING THAT I NOT INDICATE TO ANYONE THAT HE HAD READ IT TO ME. THE TEXT OF THE SENTENCE AS

QUOTED BY SIMCHA IS AS FOLLOWS: "THE EGYPTIAN COUNTER-PROPOSAL IS CONTRARY TO THE GENERAL ISRAELI CONCEPT, WHICH HAS AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING." SIMCHA CLAIMED THAT THIS IS AS FAR AS THE GOI WENT IN CLAIMING U.S. SUPPORT AND THAT NOWHERE IN THE CIRCULAR TELEGRAM IS THERE ANY CLAIM THAT THE U.S. SUPPORTS THE ISRAELI POSITION. HE DID SAY, HOWEVER, THAT THE TELEGRAM DOES CLAIM U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE "CONCEPTUAL APPROACH"; LATER HE SAID THAT THE TELEGRAM CLAIMS THAT THE U.S. AND ISRAEL ARE "TRYING TO WORK OUT A MUTUAL CONCEPT." SIMCHA ALSO SAID THAT HE COULD NOT GUARANTEE THAT SOME ISRAELI AMBASSADORS MIGHT NOT HAVE GONE FURTHER THAN THIS, BUT THAT THE GOI HAS NO RECORD OF SUCH A MISSTEP IN ANY OF THE REPORTING TELEGRAMS FROM ITS AMBASSADORS IN EUROPE. THUS, IN SIMCHA'S VIEW IT IS THE EUROPEANS WHO HAVE MADE THE QUANTUM JUMP TO AN ASSUMPTION THAT THE U.S. SUPPORTS THE ISRAELI POSITION.

4. DINITZ, AS RABIN DID WITH TOON, SAID THAT WHEN ALLON SAW PM WILSON HE, IN FACT, DID GO FURTHER THAN THE ISRAELIS HAVE GONE WITH ANY OTHER EUROPEANS. HE SAID IT IS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT ALLON PROVIDED WILSON A DETAILED EXPOSITION OF THE ISRAELI POSITION; HE IS NOT SURE WHETHER THERE WAS ANY DISCUSSION OF THE "AMERICAN PRESENCE" BUT DOUBTS IT. HE ALSO SAID THAT ALLON ASKED WILSON TO PERSUADE HIS EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES TO "GET THEIR NOSES OUT OF THE MATTER." HE SAID THAT AT A RECENT MEETING OF ISRAELI AMBASSADORS IN EUROPE WITH RABIN (PRESUMABLY DURING RABIN'S VISIT TO THE FRG) -- A MEETING WHICH DINITZ ATTENDED -- THE PRIME MINISTER UNDERLINED TO HIS AMBASSADORS THE NEED TO PERSUADE THE EUROPEANS NOT TO INTERVENE IN THE MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS.

5. I THEN ASKED DINITZ WHETHER I COULD ASSUME THAT WHAT HE WAS SAYING TO ME MEANT THAT THE EUROPEANS, IN CONCERT, HAD DECIDED TO LIE TO US ABOUT THE EXTENT OF ISRAEL'S CLAIM OF U.S. SUPPORT. DINITZ REPLIED THAT HE THOUGHT IT
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WAS VERY LIKELY THAT THAT WAS INDEED THE CASE AND THAT THE PURPOSE WAS EITHER TO USE THIS AS A VEHICLE FOR BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION OR AS A MEANS OF PRYING FROM US GREATER DETAIL ON THE COURSE AND PRESENT STATE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. DINITZ THEN SAID THAT HIS GREATEST CONCERN WITH THE COURSE OF EVENTS AND THE EXCHANGES OF MESSAGES OVER THE

LAST WEEK WAS THAT IT WOULD "UNDERMINE ISRAELI-U.S. AGREEMENT ON OUR CONCEPTUAL APPROACH." HE SAID HE FEARED WE WILL NOW FEEL WE CANNOT OR WILL NOT PUSH AS HARD WITH THE EGYPTIANS FOR THE "ACCEPTABILITY OF THE ISRAELI

CONCEPT." I POINTED OUT TO SIMCHA THAT YOU HAVE IN YOUR PERSONAL MESSAGES TO HIM (MOST RECENTLY IN PARA 4 OF SECTO 8083) INDICATED THAT YOU ARE CONTINUING TO DO WHAT YOU HAD PROMISED DINITZ YOU WOULD DO WITH THE EGYPTIANS. DINITZ REPLIED THAT THAT WAS CORRECT AND THEN WAXED ELOQUENT WITH A STATEMENT ABOUT HOW YOU SEEMED TO HAVE LOST SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS ARE A "VITAL PART" OF THE DAILY LIFE OF EVERY ISRAELI. HE SAID THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS MEAN LITTLE TO MOST AMERICANS BUT THAT THEY ARE ON THE MIND OF EVERY ISRAELI FROM THE TIME HE GETS UP IN THE MORNING UNTIL THE TIME HE GOES TO BED IN THE EVENING, AND THAT THIS IS A PRACTICAL REALITY WHICH ISRAELI POLITICIANS CANNOT IGNORE. HE SAID, "HENRY MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THE PRESSURES IN ISRAEL TO GET INTO THE NITTY GRITTY DETAILS OF THE NEGOTIATION ARE INTENSE. THUS, IT IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO BE SILENT PUBLICLY OR POLITICALLY. WHAT OUR POLITICIANS HAVE TO DO IS LIVE WITH THE REALITY OF THIS INTEREST IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THEREFORE THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS WILL ALMOST INEVITABLY GO FURTHER THAN YOU AMERICANS WOULD WISH." HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT "KISSINGER ASCRIBES TO US MOTIVES THAT DO NOT EXIST. THE REASONS WHY WE MAY SAY MORE THAN HE WOULD LIKE ARE QUITE DIFFERENT FROM WHAT HE THINKS THEM TO BE. HE SAYS WE WANT TO UNDERMINE THE NEGOTIATIONS; HE SAYS THAT RABIN DOESN'T WANT AN AUGUST SHUTTLE (A REFERENCE TO THE AUSTRIANS REPORT TO ON RABIN AND HIS TRIP TO AUSTRIA). RABIN FEELS THIS DEEPLY. WHEN I TALKED TO HIM ON THE 'PHONE YESTERDAY, HE

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SAID, 'WHAT DOES KISSINGER THINK I AM? I MEET HIM IN BONN AND WE TALK, THEN HE BELIEVES I AM TRYING TO STICK TO MY VISIT TO VIENNA. HE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT I AM FIGHTING EVERY DAY POLITICALLY FOR THIS AGREEMENT.'

7. I THEN GOT THE FAMILIAR REFRAIN FROM DINITZ THAT WE ARE BEATING UP ON THE ISRAELIS BUT SAY NOTHING TO THE EGYPTIANS. HERE AGAIN I REMINDED HIM THAT YOUR PREVIOUS PRIVATE MESSAGE TO HIM HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT YOU WERE REMINDING THE EGYPTIANS ABOUT THE NEED FOR SILENCE AND TEMPERANCE. AGAIN DINITZ ADMITTED THAT WAS CORRECT AND THEN SAID IT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL IF WE COULD TELL THE ISRAELIS MORE OF WHAT WE ARE DOING TO TRY TO QUIET THE EGYPTIANS. HE SAID, "EVERY TIME WE OPEN OUR MOUTHS, WE FEEL WE GET HIT WITH A TON OF BRICKS AND OUR MOTIVES ARE

CONSTANTLY BROUGHT INTO QUESTION BEFORE WE HAVE EVEN HAD
A CHANCE TO RESPOND. BUT WE NEVER KNOW WHAT IT IS YOU
ARE DOING TO TRY TO QUIET THE EGYPTIANS."

8. AS YOU ARE NO DOUBT EXQUISITELY AWARE, THE DISTANCE
BETWEEN WHAT THE ISRAELIS TELL YOU AND WHAT THE EUROPEANS

HAVE TO SAY IS WIDE, AND AS BONN'S 12451 DEMONSTRATES,
IS GROWING WIDER. I HAD NOT SEEN THE BONN TELEGRAM WHEN
I TALKED TO SIMCHA OR I MIGHT HAVE BEEN INDISCREET ENOUGH
TO RAISE IT WITH HIM. IN ANY EVENT, I CANNOT BELIEVE
THAT EUROPE IS POPULATED WITH ISRAELI AMBASSADORS WHO ALL
SEEM TO GO SO FAR BEYOND THEIR INSTRUCTIONS. IF THIS
KEEPS UP, WE WILL HAVE TO HIRE THEM SINCE THEY WOULD FIT
SO WELL INTO OUR OWN FOREIGN SERVICE. INGERSOLL

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